

A 5737
PARTICULAR ACCOUNT
OF THE
COMMENCEMENT AND PROGRESS
OF THE
INSURRECTION
OF THE
NEGROES
IN

ST. DOMINGO,

WHICH BEGAN IN AUGUST, 1791:

Being a TRANSLATION of the SPEECH
MADE TO THE

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,

The 3d of NOVEMBER, 1791,

BY THE

DEPUTIES

FROM THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF THE FRENCH PART OF

ST. DOMINGO.

THE SECOND EDITION,

With Notes and an Appendix, containing Extracts from other
authentic Papers.

Felix quoniam faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR J. SEWELL, NO. 32, CORNHILL.

M.DCC.XCII.

PARTICULAR ACCOUNT
OF THE
COMPLETION AND PROGRESS

IN SURVEYING
THE
WATERWAYS

OF THE
RIVER
ST. LAWRENCE
FROM
MONTREAL
TO
THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE



NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
OF QUEBEC
DECEMBER 1853
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE
ST. DOMINGO

THE SECOND SESSION
WILL BE HELD AT
MONTREAL
ON THE 15TH OF JANUARY
1854

LONDON: PRINTED FOR J. B. LEECH, 15, N. B. ST. 1853

P R E F A C E.

THE translator of the following papers, relative to the disasters of St. Domingo, earnestly recommends their attentive perusal to every thinking, dispassionate, Englishman. They are faithful transcripts of authentic records; and, however questioned by those who have an interest in discrediting them, have too melancholy a foundation in notorious facts. The principal piece is a literal translation; the extracts are no where falsified by the pen of exaggeration or of dissimulation, as will appear on comparison with the original pieces. The popular talents of Mr. Brissot, and other leaders of the National Assembly, eminently distinguished among the *Amis des Noirs*, have scarcely afforded, to the arguments and evidence of the St. Domingo deputies, an impartial hearing; * for which reason, and as the suffering party is often suspected of an unfair attack upon the passions, the translator has subjoined, in the Appendix, a great part of the speech of Mr. Bertrand, the present marine minister of France, upon this very subject. † It is to be presumed that *he* could neither want

* Vide appendix (E.)

† Vide appendix (F.)

the means of information, nor a patriotic wish to direct the attention of his fellow-citizens to *the true source* of this national calamity.

At once to excite the compassionate attention of the public to the sufferings of our neighbours and to warn the British nation against similar ruin, originating in like principles and practices, is the object of the present publication. Though touched by the contagion, our vital parts, it is to be hoped, are yet sound; but, "*when our neighbour's house is on fire, it can never be amiss to play a little upon our own.*"

The principal piece is a literal translation; the extracts are no where falsified by the pen of exaggeration or of dissimulation, as will appear on comparison with the original pieces. The popular talents of Mr. Bristot, and other leaders of the Nationalists, have been distinguished among the laws of the West, have scarcely afforded, to the arguments and evidence of the St. Domingo deputies, an impartial hearing; for which reason, and as the suffering party is often suspected of an unfair attack upon the passion, the translator has submitted, in the Appendix, a great part of the speech of Mr. Bertrand, the present marine minister of France, upon this very subject. It is to be presumed that he could neither want

S P E E C H

MADE TO THE

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,

The 3d of NOVEMBER, 1791,

BY THE

DEPUTIES

FROM THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF THE FRENCH PART OF

St. DOMINGO,

S I R S,

THE General Assembly of the French part of St. Domingo has appointed us a deputation to address you.

In that character, our first duty is to assure you of the inviolable attachment of this important part of the empire to the mother-country, before we describe to you the terrible events which are now working its destruction, and solicit the earliest and most effectual succour, to save, if it be yet possible, its wretched remains.

Long have we foreseen the evils which afflict us, and which, doubtless, will end in our annihilation, if the national justice and power interpose not speedily for our relief.

B

We

We come to lay before you some particulars which yet will give but an imperfect idea of our disasters and of our situation.

The General Assembly of the French part of St. Domingo, after having been constituted at *Leogane*, had appointed to hold its sessions in the town of the *Cape*. The deputies were gradually assembling there for the purposes of their mission.

Several of them arriving on the 16th (August) at the district of Limbé, distant six leagues from the Cape, were there witnesses of the burning of a trash-house on Chabaud's plantation.

The incendiary was a negro-driver* of Desgrieux's plantation. Armed with a cutlass, he fled; M. Chabaud saw, pursued, and overtook him; they fought; the negro was wounded, taken, and put in irons.

Being interrogated, he deposed, "that all the drivers, coachmen, domestics, and confidential negroes, of the neighbouring plantations and adjacent districts, had formed a plot to set fire to the plantations and to murder all the whites." He marked out, as ring-leaders, several negroes of his master's plantation, four of *Flaville's*, (situated at *Acul*, three leagues from the Cape,) and the negro Paul, driver on *Blin's* plantation at Limbé.

The municipality of Limbé proceeded to M. Chabaud's; and, on putting the same questions, received the like answers from the incendiary negro. The municipality presented the examination, in form of a verbal process, to the Northern Provincial Assembly; and, informing *Flaville's* attorney (or manager) of the names of the conspirators that were about him, advised his securing and lodging them in the prison of the Cape.

* The French word is *commandeur*, signifying a negro trusted with the care of a small party when at work.

This man, of a mild and gentle disposition, inclined more to confidence than suspicion, assembled the negroes under his command, and, communicating the information he had received from the municipality, told them he could not give credit to a plot so atrocious, and offered them his head if they desired it. With one voice they answered, that the deposition of *Desgrieux's* driver was a detestable calumny, and swore an inviolable attachment to their manager. He had the weakness to believe them, and his credulity has been our ruin. The municipality of Limbé demanded from *M. Planteau*, attorney of *Blin's* plantation, that they might examine the negro *Paul*. This slave, being interrogated, replied, "That the accusation brought against him was false and injurious; that, full of gratitude to his master, from whom he was daily experiencing acts of kindness, he would never be found concerned in plots that might be framed against the existence of the whites and against their property."

In return for this perfidious declaration, and under assurance from *M. Planteau* that *Paul* deserved credit, he was released.

In this state matters continued till the 21st, when the public force of Limbé, at the requisition of the municipality, proceeded to *Desgrieux's* plantation, to take into custody the negro cook, accused of being a ringleader: the negro fled; found out the negro *Paul*, of *Blin's* plantation, and, in conjunction with the other conspirators, they prepared fire and sword, destined for the completion of their horrible designs.

In the night, between the 22d and 23d, twelve negroes reached the sugar-house of *Noë's* plantation at Acul, seized upon the apprentice refiner; dragged him before the great house, where he expired under their wounds. His cries brought out the attorney of the estate, who was laid breathless on the ground by two musket-balls. The wretches proceeded to the apartment of the head refiner, and assassinated him in his bed. A young man, lying sick in a neighbouring cham-

ber, they left for dead under the blows of their cutlasses; yet he had strength to crawl to the next plantation, where he related the horrors he had witnessed, and that the *surgeon* only was spared; an exception which was repeated in respect to the surgeons in general, of whose abilities the negroes had reckoned they might stand in need.

The plunderers proceeded to *Clement's* plantation, and there killed the proprietor and the refiner.

Day began to break, and favoured the junction of the ill-disposed, who, spread over the plain, with dreadful shouts, set fire to houses and canes, and massacred the inhabitants.

On that same night the revolt had broken out on the three plantations of *Galifet*.* At one of which, the blacks, with arms in their hands, made way into the chamber of the refiner, with a design to assassinate him, but only wounded him in the arm; favoured by the night, he escaped, and ran to the great house. The whites, who resided there, united for their defence. *M. Odeluc*, a member of the General Assembly, and attorney for the concerns of *Galifet*, came to the Cape, and gave information there of the insurrection of his negroes. Escorted by the patrol, he reached the plantation, seized the ring-leaders, and returned at their head to the town. Immediately he went out again, with twenty men in arms, that he might restore tranquillity and maintain order. But the negroes were all embodied, and attacked him. *Their standard was the body of a white infant impaled upon a stake.* *M. Odeluc*, addressing himself to his coachman, whom he perceived among the foremost, exclaimed, "Wretch, I have treated thee ever with kindness, why dost thou seek my death?" "True," he replied, "but I *have promised* to cut your throat:" and, that instant, a hundred weapons were upon him. The major-

* At the Cape, it was a proverbial mode of expressing any man's happiness—
"Ma foi, il est heureux comme un negre de Galifet."—"He is as happy as one
of Galifet's negroes."

rity of the whites perished with him, particularly M. *Averault* also a member of the General Assembly.

At the very same time *Flaville's* gang (that which had so recently sworn fidelity to the attorney) armed themselves, revolted, entered the apartments of the whites, and murdered five of them who resided on the plantation. The attorney's wife, on her knees, besought the life of her husband. The inexorable negroes assassinated the husband, and told the wife that she and her daughters were reserved for their pleasures.

M. *Robert*, a carpenter, employed on the same plantation, was seized by the negroes, who bound him between two planks, and sawed him deliberately in two.

A youth, aged sixteen, wounded in two places, escaped the fury of the cannibals, and it is from him we learned these facts. The sword was then exchanged for the torch; fire was set to the canes, and the buildings soon added to the conflagration; it was the appointed signal; revolt was the word; and, with the speed of lightning, it flamed out on the neighbouring plantations; wherever there were whites, there were so many victims slaughtered; men, women, the infant, and the aged, expired indiscriminately under the knife of the assassins.

A colonist was murdered by the very negroe whom he had most distinguished by acts of kindness. His wife, stretched upon his body, was forced to satisfy the brutality of the murderer.

M. *Cagnet*, inhabitant of *Acul*, seeking to escape from these horrors, embarked for the Cape. His domestic negro begged permission to attend him. Such a mark of attachment determined his master to leave him as a guard upon the plantation, that he might endeavour to preserve it. But M. *Cagnet* had hardly set foot on-board, when he saw that slave, with a torch in his hand, setting fire to his property.

Expresses

Expresses being sent to the Cape, armed citizens and troops of the line were dispatched from thence; they proceeded towards the strongest body of the mutineers, and destroyed a part of them; but, finding the number of revoltors increasing in centuple proportion to their losses, and being unable to maintain their ground, they retreated in expectation of a reinforcement, which arrived, but not before night, headed by *M. de Touzard*, who took the command of the little army.

M. de Touzard, perceiving that the revoltors were rallying on *Latour's* plantation, marched thither. Their number might be from three to four thousand. The moment the artillery was ready to play, to disperse them, the negroes pretended to surrender. *M. de Touzard* advanced; many of them exclaimed, they would return to their duty. He trusted to their repentance, and retired. Humanity and the interests of the colony enjoined his forbearance, but it was not long before he was undeceived; the negroes separated indeed, but only that they might recruit their numbers with all the neighbouring gangs. The army was returned into the town to take new steps for putting an end to the disorder. The revoltors profited by this interval to fill up the measure of their depredations. Our communications with the adjacent districts became impeded. We were alarmed lest the disorder had reached them, and our fears were soon realised. We learnt, by means of persons escaped by the sea, that *Limbé*, *Plaisance*, *Port Margot*, were a prey to like horrors, and every citizen, in detailing his misfortunes, discovered to us new crimes.

M. Potier, inhabitant of *Port Margot*, had taught his negro-driver to read and write. He had given him his liberty, which the fellow enjoyed; he had granted him 10,000 livres, which were soon to be paid to him; he had also given to this negro's mother a piece of land, on which she cultivated coffee. The monster seduced the gang of his benefactor and

and of his mother, burned and destroyed their possessions, and obtained, for this action, a promotion to the rank of general.

At *Great River*, an inhabitant, *M. Cardineau*, had two natural sons, of colour,* to whom he had given their liberty, and who, in their childhood, had been the objects of his tenderest cares. They accosted him with a pistol at his breast, and demanded his money. He delivered it; but no sooner had they obtained it than they stabbed him to the heart.

At *Aeul*, *M. Chauvet du Breuil*, deputy to the General Assembly, was assassinated by a mulatto, aged sixteen, his natural son, to whom he destined his fortune, having manumitted him from his childhood.

At the *Great Ravine of Limbé*, a colonist, father of two young ladies, whites, was tied down by a savage ring-leader of a band, who ravished the eldest in his presence, and delivered the younger over to one of his satellites; their passion satisfied, they slaughtered both the father and the daughters.

M. and Mad. Baillon, with their son-in-law and daughter, encouraged by their negroes, remained on their plantation; but the depredations of those, whom they had most trusted, warned them that it was time to fly. The nurse of *Mad. Baillon*, the younger, confessed to her there was not an instant to be lost, and offered to attend them. An old servant engaged to conduct their steps. Luckily *Mad. Baillon's* nurse was wife of *Paul Blin*, one of the negro generals, and had obtained from him some provisions for her master's family. At her intreaty, he had even promised to provide, at a distant barquadier, a canoe to carry the fugitives to the Cape. But how great their grief at seeing a little skiff, without mast, or oars, or rowers! One of them tried to embark in it; the flimsy boat over-set, and his life, with difficulty, was saved.

* In the French colonies, the free negroes, as well as the mulattoes and others of the mixed race, are denominated *people of colour*.

Again they applied to *Paul*, and his wife reproached him with breaking his promise. He replied, "that he only provided this as a preferable mode of death to that which the revolters had prepared for the unhappy family:"—petrified, at this recital, with terror, despair gave them new strength; they set off on foot, and after being twenty-one days in performing a journey of only five leagues, every day encompassed with dangers, they arrived at *Port Margot*, whence they reached the Cape.

Mean time the flames gained ground on all sides. *La Petite Anse*, *la Plaine du Nord*, the districts of *Morin*, *Limonade*, presented only heaps of ashes and of mangled carcases.

Nothing, one would think, could deepen the horrors of this recital; and yet, Sirs, it is marked with features of a still more dreadful character, when we see that those slaves, who had been most kindly treated by their masters, were the very soul of the Insurrection. It was *they* who betrayed and delivered those humane masters to the assassin's sword; it was *they* who seduced and stirred up to revolt the gangs disposed to fidelity; it was *they* who massacred all who refused to become their accomplices. What a lesson for the *Amis des Noirs*! What a heart-breaking discovery to the colonists themselves, to whom futurity could suggest nothing but prospects of despair, if, in the midst of so many crimes, there had not yet been found slaves who gave proofs of an invincible fidelity, and who made manifest their determination to reject with disdain the seductions of those who have endeavoured by promises of liberty to enslave them into certain destruction! Liberty is now theirs, but it is the gift of their masters; the reward of their honest attachment; and it has been ratified by the representatives of the colony, amidst the transports of universal gratitude.

• *Orphans of the blacks*, by which name are distinguished, in France, those who have seconded the English project for abolishing the slave-trade.

We

We resume the narrative of our disasters. At this time one hundred thousand negroes were in rebellion, and all the buildings and plantations, of more than half the Northern province, appeared only as one general conflagration. The plains and the mountains were filled with carnage and deluged with blood. The colonists, stupified with fear, knew not where to seek refuge; one flies for safety to the woods; is there betrayed by his negroes, and stabbed: another confides in the promises of his gang; a rebel ring-leader steals in among them; the gang rises, and the proprietor is their first victim.

Scattered over an extent of country; intersected by mountains and deep valleys; the flying inhabitants attempted to rally and to sell their lives dearly. The roads were blockaded; they were taken prisoners and massacred.

They, who re-united, opposed but a feeble bulwark against the swelling torrent; they were routed, taken, and expiated in tortures their exertions for self-preservation. These horrible scenes were acting at the very gate of the town of the Cape. Terror and dismay took possession of every mind; yet all felt the urgency of providing for their common safety. They assembled, acted in concert, the citizens took arms, and the General Assembly placed the patriotic troops under the command of the governor.

The town of the Cape, with about three thousand men at the most, had to keep in check fifteen thousand black inmates, ready to follow the example of those without, and *many ill-disposed whites*. The General Assembly deliberated one entire night upon the means of preservation from internal enemies. The result was, to adhere solely to a well-directed and constant watch over their conduct and their dispositions. The revolt had been too sudden, and too well concerted, to leave a hope of stopping or of alleviating its ravages. The town of the Cape (that side next the sea excepted) was

defenceless and incapable of fortification, without a delay of several days and immense labour. It was extremely to be feared lest the revolted negroes should pour down upon the town, and, favoured and seconded by those within, make a general massacre of the whole race of the whites. One resource, therefore, only remained; to take possession of the passes of the hills contiguous to the town; to establish a commanding post, which, by the help of the adjoining marshes, might protect it; and to defend the road of *la Petite Anse* by a battery of cannon and boats lashed together. This resolution was adopted and executed; thence-forwards the Cape, surrounded by a solid palisade, by chevaux-de-frize, and by considerable posts, might feel its situation less alarming.

During this interval, not a minute was lost in sending information, by sea, to the parishes which were yet uncontaminated, and in suggesting to them the proper precautions to be taken. The inhabitants of those parishes formed a league, and established camps, more or less considerable: these were stationed at *Trou, Valliere, Great River, Moruet, Dondon, la Marmelade, Port Margot*, and other places in danger. The revolters followed the same plan; they stationed camps in all the districts they had ravaged. Moreover, they forced the camp of the whites at Great River, and killed or put to flight all the inhabitants of that district; the camp at Dondon shared the same fate, after a contest of seven hours, in which more than one hundred whites fell. The few unfortunate people, who escaped on that occasion, sought refuge among the Spaniards, but were driven back.

MM. Gramal, Reynaud, and Lambert, inhabitants of Great River and Dondon, reached, however, the house of a Spanish colonist, their intimate friend: this worthy man, on one side urged by the strongest feelings, on the other by the fear of being burnt out by his countrymen, determined to keep the three Frenchmen locked up in his closet, from whence

whence he let them escape at night, in the midst of deserts, and under advantage of a storm.

Shall it be told you, that you may feel the indignation which the conduct of our neighbours must have excited, that depositions and the public report state, that several inhabitants of Dondon, who took refuge among the Spaniards, were driven beyond the limits, and sold to the rebel negro chiefs, in consideration of three Portugal pieces (132 livres of France) per head, and that they were put to death.

The districts of *Rocou, Maribaroux, le Terrier Rouge, Jacquesy, Caracole, Ouanaminthe*, and fort *Dauphin*, forming the Eastern part of the Northern province, were still uninjured; their defence was an object of instant necessity.*

A camp was established under the orders of M. de Rouvrai, which completely answered the purpose for which it was formed, in spite of the continual efforts of the banditti.

While these alarming transactions were passing the town of the Cape was resorted to by the inhabitants of the neighbouring hills and plains, escaping from the sword of the assassins. It was then that M. Blanchelande† thought it prudent to march out two small bodies of troops, which, joined by M. de Rouvrai, attacked and carried, in succession, several camps of the revolvers, situated on the plantations of *Chabanon, la Chevallerie, Bullet, Duplat, Charitte, Denort, Dagout, and Galifet*; in each of which many female white prisoners were set at liberty. It is from them, Sirs, that we learnt to what an excess the revolvers had carried their brutality.

Your sensibility, already excited, could not endure the narrative of those horrid scenes which these women witnessed.

* These districts have all been since ravaged and destroyed.

† Governor General.

From the rebel prisoners, we discovered that the different chiefs of these banditti are at bitter enmity with each other; every troop forms a party, and these parties are always at variance, always ready for mutual destruction. The authority they have established is absolute despotism. The chiefs exercise unheard-of tyranny over those they command: the least disobedience, the slightest sign of hesitation, is punished with death; and it is a notorious truth, that more negroes have been sacrificed to their own ignorant rage and suspicion than we have been compelled to destroy in our defence, although we have obtained over them several signal advantages. Their acts of cruelty fall even on those who have voluntarily engaged in the revolt. But who will not shudder to hear in what manner they punish those who determine to remain faithful to their masters!—They seize them by force and roast them at the next fire. They have been seen, with the cruelty of cowards, placing, in the front of battle, the aged, the infants, and the women; and, finding them unfit for action, making use of them to parry our blows. Have they any wounded, and for want of surgeons cannot dress their wounds?—they confine them in a hut and set fire to it. In short, take this for certain;—if the sanguinary designs of these uncivilized and ferocious men should be realized in respect to the whites; should they accomplish the extermination of the Europeans in the colony; soon would you see St. Domingo presenting a picture of all the atrocities of Africa. Subjected to the most arbitrary masters, distracted by the most bloody wars, they would render their prisoners subservient to their caprices; and the moderated servitude, under which they are held by us, would be exchanged for a slavery, aggravated by all the refinements of barbarism.

In the deplorable situation we have described, M. Blanchelande, who acted in concurrence with the General Assembly, thought it right to suggest a proclamation which might contribute

tribute to bring back the revoltors to their duty. The General Assembly, composed of planters perfectly acquainted with the character of the negroes, represented to him the danger of such a proclamation, and positively refused it their sanction. The week following, M. Blanchelande renewed his proposal. The same motives dictated the same refusal. He persisted, and determined to issue it in his own name, and he did it, because he learned that the negroes were willing to submit themselves. The proclamation was made and delivered by twelve dragoons. What effect was produced by this measure? Seven of them were assassinated in the camp of the rebels, and the others saved themselves with the utmost difficulty.

It would answer no end, Sirs, to describe to you all the horrors to which our unfortunate fellow-citizens have been a prey. Posterity will be shocked at so many cruelties, committed in the names of philosophy and liberty.

Yet have we only, in this relation, sketched to you some scattered outlines of the dreadful picture of those evils, which have visited, probably still visit, a country, but lately so peaceful, so flourishing, so valuable to the French empire! You will better judge by a summary of the losses which the colony had experienced at the period of our departure.

They reckoned, in the parishes of *Plaisance*, *Port Margot*, *Limbé*, *Marmelade*, *Acul*, *la Plaine du Nord*, *la Petite Anse*, *Morin*, *Limonade*, *Sainte Susanne*, *Moka*, *Cottellettes*, *Great River*, *Dondon*, and other districts, more than two hundred sugar-works, twelve hundred coffee-works, many indigo-works, entirely burned down; numerous potteries, distilleries, many considerable villages, public magazines, an immense quantity of merchandise, had shared the same fate. By adding to these inappreciable objects, all the instruments of husbandry, utensils for manufactures, household-furniture, and specie; horses, mules, and other cattle; some idea may be formed of the enormity

millions of *livres*, which we value at upwards of six hundred millions of *livres*. The assistance of the nation, the exertions of commerce, and our industry, may, perhaps, repair them: but what shall dry the tears that flow for more than one thousand of our fellow-citizens slaughtered, the victims of this cruel revolt! Can sensibility be mute, when we reflect, that fifteen thousand negroes will be destroyed before order and tranquillity can be re-established, and that, should they succeed in their projects, St. Domingo will become the tomb of fifty thousand Frenchmen!*

Hitherto we have only spoken of the misfortunes of the Northern parts. They are not all we have to lament,

* The following are extracts from an authentic account of the calamities of this unfortunate colony, published, in December last, by Mr. Baillio, a French gentleman, a few days after his arrival at Paris from St. Domingo.

“Several journals have taken incredible pains to soften the representation of this mass of horrors. I can affirm that the General Assembly, whose meetings I attended till the 21st of October, had, at the close of the preceding month, received a particular account of the destruction of two hundred and twenty-two sugar-estates and between eleven and twelve hundred coffee-plantations, and it could not then be known how far the mischief had extended itself among the hills, with which the town of the Cape could no longer maintain any communication.

“The number of white men, women, and children, whose throats had been cut, or who had been otherwise butchered, by the negroes, then amounted to more than two thousand, and not to six hundred only, as the journals of the pretended philanthropists assert.

“It would be too irksome a task to enumerate the acts of cruelty committed by the revolted:—those barbarians, in whose favour a certain sect of philosophers so warmly interest themselves! All the white, and even the mulatto, children have in many places been murdered without pity, and most frequently before the eyes, or clinging to the bosom, of their mothers. The young women indeed have not been murdered before they have satisfied the brutal lust of these savages, and been abused in too shameful a manner for the pen to describe. Infants impaled on the ends of pikes have been their ensigns. The *Sieur* Blin, (an officer of police,) was nailed to one of the gates of a plantation, and his limbs, one by one, cut off: others have been tied between two planks and sawed asunder.” *Mor de Paris*. Pages 4, 5.

Blood

Blood was spilt in the Western province; fire destroyed several properties there; the gangs of *Grandsfonds*, *Charbonniers*, and *Fond Ferrier*, revolted.

The detection of a conspiracy at Leogane preserved that district from carnage and conflagration, as well as those of *Archaie*, *Des Vases*, and *le Cul de Sac*. *Jeremie* experienced some commotions, but a timely arrest of the excitors of them saved that place from the impending evil.

The Southern parts had also great cause of alarm. The precautions taken there had, to the time of our departure, maintained their tranquillity; yet the population there is so thin, that the measures employed are more the proofs of timidity than the pledges of security.

Thus, Sirs, you behold on every side the colony threatened; and, if there be colonists who are yet to be saved from so many complicated dangers, still will they have to contend with treachery and famine, with epidemical diseases caused by so many unburied carcases in a burning climate, with disorders more acute, the effects of fatigue, terror, and vexation; in a word, with every evil that nature engenders for the destruction of mankind. What just reason have we not to dread the total ruin of the colony, a ruin which must accelerate that of the mother-country! The destruction of our plantations will cause the stagnation of your manufactories, successive bankruptcies will injure public credit, and, even in Paris, will be felt by the moneyed man and the tradesman; in the inmost of your provinces it will check the collection of taxes; the decrease of shipping in the sea-ports will reduce to beggary an innumerable body of labourers and of seamen; then will cries of rage and despair ascend from every quarter, calling upon you for justice against the authors of so many calamities; and can they fail to be detected, by the perfidious cunning, by the cruel perseverance, with which they have so long

long been contriving a catastrophe, now so terribly conspicuous!

We passed our lives in tranquillity, Sirs, in the midst of our slaves. A paternal government had, for many years past, meliorated the condition of our negroes; and we dare affirm, that millions of Europeans, attacked by every want, subject to every misery, possess fewer enjoyments than those who have been represented to you, and to the world in general, as loaded with chains and perishing by a dilatory death. The situation of the negroes, in Africa, without property, without political or civil existence, continually a prey to the weak capricious fury of tyrants, who divide among them that vast uncivilized country, is changed in our colonies for a condition of comfort and enjoyment. They are deprived of nothing; for, liberty, which, it is true, they have not, is a plant that has never yet proved fertile in their native soil; and, whatever the spirit of party may assert, whatever imagination may invent, well-informed men are not to be persuaded that the negroes in Africa have the enjoyment of freedom. The traveller,* who has most recently visited a part, hitherto almost unknown, of that extensive country, has given us, in his long and interesting work, a history only of blood and desolation. The men who inhabit *Abyssinia*, *Nubia*, the *Galla*, and the *Funge*, from the coasts of the Indian ocean to the very frontiers of Egypt, seem to rival, in ferocity and barbarity, the hyænas and the tigers which nature has there created. Slavery is, with them, a title of honour; and life, in those horrible climates, is a possession unprotected by any laws, and held only at the will of a sanguinary despot.

Let any man, of feeling and information, compare the deplorable state of the negroes, in Africa, with the mild and comfortable lot they enjoy in our colonies; let him set aside

* Vide Bruce, ii. 216, iv. 459, &c.

declamation, the pictures which a false philosophy has been pleased to delineate; (far more from a pursuit of popularity than from zeal in the vindication of humanity;) let him recal the regulations which governed our negroes before they were seduced and alienated from us; provided against every want; supplied with accommodations, unknown in the greater part of the cottages of Europe; secure in the enjoyment of their properties; (*for, they had property and it was sacred;*) nursed, in times of sickness, with an expence and an attention which may be sought in vain in the much-boasted hospitals of England: protected, respected, in the infirmities of old age; at ease in respect to their children, their families, and their affections; subjected to a labour calculated according to the strength of each individual, because individuals and employments were classed; and interest (even should humanity fail) enjoined an attention to the preservation of their numbers; enfranchised whenever they had merited it by important services.—Such was the just, unflattered, picture of the government of our negroes; and this domestic government had been meliorated (particularly in the last ten years) with an anxiety, of which you will find no example in Europe. The sincerest attachment connected the master and his slaves. We slept in security in the midst of men that were become our children, and many of us had neither locks nor bars to our houses.

Not, Sirs, that we would disguise to you, that there did exist, among the planters, a very small number of hard and ferocious masters. But what was the lot of these wicked men? Blasted in their fame, detested by men of character, outcasts of society, discredited in their business, they lived in disgrace and dishonour, and died in misery and despair. Their names are never pronounced without indignation in the colony, and the bad estimation in which they are held serves as a warning to those, who, yet unversed in the management of

their slaves, might be led, by the impetuosity of their tempers, into excesses, proved, by experience, to be as contrary to good policy, as they are, by increase of knowledge and humanity, become infamous.

Here we appeal, not to those who write romances to gain a name as men of sensibility, to acquire a momentary popularity, soon to be wrested from them by general indignation, but to those who have visited, who know, the colonies. Let *them* say if the recital we have made is faithful, or if we have coloured it to interest you in our cause.

We repeat it, Sirs, we passed our lives in this state of tranquillity and happiness, and we returned to the mother-country, the protectress of our properties, the entire tribute of our produce, which was applied in adding to the wealth of the metropolis, to her internal strength, and to her superiority in foreign commerce.

Meantime, Sirs, a society springs up in the bosom of France,* and prepares, at a distance, the destruction and convulsions to which we are now a prey. Unobtrusive and modest in their outset, they professed only a desire to alleviate the lot of our slaves; but that alleviation, already so far advanced in the French islands, must result from means which were totally unknown to this society, although they were objects of our unceasing attention, until obliged to abandon them, by these incompetent meddlers having excited, among our slaves, a spirit of mutiny, and, among us, a spirit of distrust.

In order to meliorate gradually the lot of the slaves, and to increase the number of the emancipated, there should certainly be a previous solicitude of attention to the perfect safety of their masters. But, an expedient so wise would have gain-

* "A society which foreigners and bad men have instituted for our destruction and for the humiliation of France."

Address of the French planters of St. Domingo to the king.

ed no applause in *their* temple of renown. Vanity commanded that measures of prudence should be relinquished for specious declamations, that we should be surrounded with terror and alarm, and that calamities should be contrived, the same which we have predicted since the earliest proceedings of the *Amis des Noirs*, and which have so lately been realised.

On a sudden this society demands an *Abolition of the Slave-Trade*; that is to say, that the profits, which may result from it to the French commerce, should be transferred to foreigners; for, never will their romantic philosophy persuade all the European powers, that it is incumbent upon them to abandon the culture of their colonies, and to leave the natives of Africa a prey to the barbarity of their native tyrants, rather than employ them elsewhere, and under more humane masters, in cultivating a soil, which, without them, must remain uncultivated, and whose valuable productions are, to the nation which possesses them, a fertile source of industry and prosperity.

Combining itself next with the Revolution in France, this society confounds its extravagant and irrational system with the plan which the nation had conceived for its enfranchisement; and, profiting by the universal ardour of all Frenchmen in the cause of liberty, interests them, from the remembrance of their servitude, in its design to put an end to that of the negroes. Its blind enthusiasm, or its perversity, forgets, that those savage men are incapable of knowing in what true social liberty consists, or of enjoying it with moderation; and that the rash law, which should destroy their prejudices, would be, to them and to us, a sentence of death.

Thenceforwards, this society, or at least some of its members, have given an unbounded loose to their enterprise; all means have seemed to them good, so they might but tend to its accomplishment. The open attack, the deep and studied *inuendo*, the basest and most despicable calumnies, have been

practised to forward their designs; ingeniously mixing cunning with audacity, the society, at one time, flatters us by an invitation to shake off the yoke of the French merchants, assuring us of its support if we will unite with it for obtaining a free commerce; at another time, it arms the mercantile body against us, affirming that we have in view a disgraceful bankruptcy, a chimerical independence, and that, in our career of vanity, we would build up a separate power on a level with that of France. Thus, after having endeavoured to irritate the planters and the merchants against each other, after having offered us principles incompatible with the interests of the mother-country, when, in spite of its insidious counsels, we have declined to adopt them, still are we accused, by the society, of such intentions, and they lay hold of the declaration of the *Rights of Man*, an immortal work, and beneficial to highly enlightened men; but inapplicable, and therefore dangerous, to our colonial regulations: they send it with profusion into our colonies; the journals in their pay, or under their influence, publish this declaration in the midst of our gangs; the writings of the *Amis des Noirs* openly announce, that the freedom of the negroes is proclaimed by the declaration of rights.

The decree of the 8th of March* seemed calculated to check these desperate plots. But can the *Amis des Noirs* reverence any law but those oaths by which they are bound together, and that vow which they have formed to carry fire and sword into our habitations? If a law be favourable to their theories, they adopt, they promulgate, they interpret, that law. If repugnant, they misconstrue, disavow, insult, it, without shame; they endeavour to degrade the authority on which it is founded.

* A decree, which left internal regulations, for the most part, under control of the colonial legislatures.

The planters, merchants, and men enlightened enough not to be the dupes of their falsities, are indiscriminately the objects of their abuse. It is not enough that they have made themselves the arbiters of our property and our peace, they assume over us a supremacy of defamation; nor may we defend ourselves, and strive to parry their blows, without undergoing a torrent of their low scurrility. Thus, prejudicing against us the public opinion, shutting up from us the channels of defence, they undermine in security the rock on which our possessions are placed; they surround it with snares, and our ruin must follow!

When it was found that they had vainly flattered themselves with obtaining from the National Assembly the emancipation of our slaves, they attempted to introduce dissention among us, by persuading that Assembly to take on itself to discuss the question of the *People of Colour*. We had demanded that we should ourselves make the laws upon this subject, which require great delicacy and prudence in their application. We had pledged ourselves that those laws should be just and humane.

But, that boon, which, then granted by the white planters, would have eternally cemented the ties of affection and benevolence existing between those low classes of men, is presented to them, by the *Amis des Noirs*, as an offering of vanity, and a means of avoiding equitable stipulations.

Other measures were tried to gain their point: they collected together at Paris some people of colour; they extolled their understandings; they invited them to unite their cause with that of the negroes. These men passed over to St Domingo, in the sort of delirium occasioned by such doctrine; they communicated to the slaves those hopes with which they had been amused; they were loaded with libels and pamphlets, which encouraged the men of colour and the slaves to a general insurrection, and to a general massacre of the whites.

Ogé was the first victim of this fatal error; one of his brothers, misled by him, declared, the 9th of March, in his death-

death-bed testimony, that, had not the swelling of the rivers prevented the junction of the conspirators, eleven thousand rebel negroes were ready to pour down upon the Cape so early as the month of February, and to cause the devastation which took place only the 23d of August. He named the ring-leaders, gave particulars of the conspiracy, and offered proof. It was the voice of his conscience which spoke out at that moment, the last that remained to him for discovering the truth.

In the midst of this fermentation, in this general delirium, while the whites were agitated by distrust and terror, and while the negroes were indulging themselves in a thousand fatal dreams, was the discussion of the Decree of the 15th of May agitated among you.* A shoal of writings, previous and subsequent, have been disseminated among our gangs. There have been read, and commented upon, those terrible words! those words, the signal of blood and conflagration!

PERISH THE COLONIES.†

It was then that a Minister of the Gospel of Peace, in a letter, addressed to his brethren, the Men of Colour, announced to our slaves, that *soon should the sun shine on none but freemen!‡*

Could

* This decree was formed on principles directly opposite to those of the decree of the 8th of March.

† The words used by Mr. Robertspierre, in the National Assembly, when attempting to prove that the declaration of rights implied an enfranchisement of all the negroes in the Colonies. "Let the colonies perish," said he, "rather than one of our principles!" His speech was printed; and, with many other writings of similar tendency, was disseminated in St. Domingo. Vide appendix (E.)

‡ This is the expression of the Abbé Grégoire, the most zealous and active of the Society of the *Amis des Noirs*.—Mr. Baillio, in the pamphlet before quoted, says: "He is looked upon at the Cape in the light he deserves, and it is upon him the resentment of the planters particularly falls."—"In one of his writings he

"seems

Could the negroes, — assailed by so many temptations, — worked upon by so many manœuvres, — stimulated by libels, written in characters of blood, read at evenings in their huts, in the midst of assemblies of their chiefs, by men breathing only disorder and pillage : — Could they long resist the vertigo with which they were stricken ? — All memory of the kind-

“ seems to foretell the ruin of the colonies, of the maritime towns, and manufactures, in consequence of an emancipation of the negroes. Unworthy mortals, exclaims this holy man, ‘ *Eat grass, and be just.*’ “ Hear this, ye industrious planters, ye numerous seamen, inhabitants of the sea-ports, cultivators, manufacturers, all ye four millions of Frenchmen who directly and indirectly live and prosper by the rich productions of the colonies !” “ *Eat grass !*” “ So prays the pious Abbé Grégoire. — Foulon, the detestable Foulon, wished also that the people of Paris might live upon hay, and therefore was his hideous head borne upon a pike. The justice of the colonists has hitherto only emblematically overtaken the abbé. He was hanged in effigy before the post-office at Cape François, in July last.”

Baillio, *Mot de Vérité*, pages 8, 9.

“ Many of the mulattoes had established a correspondence with considerable persons in France ; from some of whom, particularly the *Abbé Grégoire*, letters of a very extraordinary tendency were received and distributed through the colony. In one of these letters, after promising protection and support, the abbé declares, that ‘ *the day will soon come when the sun shall shine upon free people only.*’ — “ The beams of the morning,” says he, “ shall no longer give light to the fetters of slavery.” These and similar expressions were exaggerated into one point : that the King had given freedom to all the slaves in *St. Domingo* ; and the *Abbé Grégoire*, to whose good offices this benevolence was imputed, was immediately considered as the patron of all the mulattoes and negroes in the island : It is no wonder, therefore, that, considering their masters unjustly to withhold from them those privileges which they believed were granted them in France, they determined to do justice to themselves by murdering their oppressors. The above conjecture is confirmed by the following circumstance :—

“ In the first of the engagements, one of the chiefs of the rebels being killed, there was found about his neck a medal of *San Gregorio*, a Saint in the Romish calendar ; and it appeared in evidence that this medal was worn by the negro as the portrait of his patron, the abbé : the similarity of the name giving countenance to the conceit. An impression of this medal is now in the possession of *B. E. Esq.* It has this description : *SAN GREGORIO MAGNO, P. M.*”

Particulars of the insurrection in St. Domingo, printed in the Jamaica newspapers, but for obvious reasons suppressed in that island.

ness of their masters was erased from their minds; a desire of novelty was all they felt; they became the apt instruments of those men, inveterately malevolent, who have greedily seized, in the writings of the *Amis des Noirs* and in the interpretation of decrees, such arms as were best suited to lead the way to insurrection.

Is our measure of misfortune sufficiently full, that we may hope at last to have the truth no more disguised? Have we a valid claim to the retribution of the laws, without waiting those proofs, which must result from the proceedings now on foot at St. Domingo, and which will be transmitted to us? The fatal influence of the authors of so many calamities, — is it not already evidently proved by the whole of their transactions and by their criminal writings? Can it be doubted, at this time, that our ruin is *their* work? And shall France still restrain the cry of indignation, due to the guilt of our enemies?

Flattered with hopes that misfortunes like ours would find consolation in the bosom of the mother-country, — that, on our arrival in the capital, where we have at least a claim to pity, the hearts of our fellow-citizens would be open to our complaints, — we find ourselves preceded by calumny! They, who have made light of our properties and our blood, reckoned upon being objects of our bitter reproaches, and have endeavoured to anticipate them. Skilled in the arts of defamation, which are habitual to them, after having rendered us the victims of their machinations, it remained to cast upon us the reproach and the shame. With a cruelty, equalled only by their disregard for probability, they have dared to fabricate and to report, that our constituents were themselves the contrivers of their own afflictions! they have dared to affirm, that the absurd and barbarous project of effecting a Counter-Revolution was the object, to which they have sacrificed their properties,

perties, their families, their lives! They have dared to say that we wished to offer ourselves to Great-Britain!

In return, we will ask of you, Sirs; with the boldness of Freemen and of French Citizens, (for, after all, we too are Frenchmen and Citizens,) we will ask of you, whether it be permitted to any set of men, of any nation upon earth, to insult, with such effrontery, those whom they have injured!

What! *We* place fire and sword in the hands of our negroes! *We* light the torch that has destroyed our plantations! *We* sharpen the daggers that have assassinated our brethren and our friends! *We* prompt the brutal passions of which our females have been the hapless victims! *We* kindle in our country the volcano which has already covered it with ashes, and which perhaps will reduce it to nothing!

These desolators, calling themselves patriots, accuse us of having plotted a counter-revolution. They are then uninformed, that, from the earliest days of the Revolution, it has had our veneration; and that, as being more exposed under a despotic government to oppression, we have, with greater ardour, sprung towards liberty. Our most recent transactions testify in our favour. Is it the act of a counter-revolutionist to have declared, in constituting our assembly, that "*We* would protect, with all the power of the law and of public opinion, the recovery of the debts due to the mother-country? Is it the act of a counter-revolutionist to have there recorded, that to the National Assembly belongs the right of instituting our political and commercial regulations?

Is it the act of a counter-revolutionist to have written to the representatives of the nation, while the grave was opening beneath our feet, that our last sigh and our last vow should be for our country?*

E

Had

* "*We* will not inform you what cause has produced our calamities: You ought sufficiently to be acquainted with it.—That which you will learn from us is, that,

if

Had we been counter-revolutionists, is it to the National Assembly we should have addressed such sentiments?

It is asserted, it is printed and published, that we wished to offer ourselves to Great Britain.—Our reply to this falsehood is very simple, it is written in every page of our verbal process. There we have manifested our principles, and, we can safely affirm, the full performance of our duty.

But we will go yet farther: permit us an hypothesis, which our situation, singular in the records of history, authorises us to state.

At the moment of the insurrection breaking out, all the inhabitants of the town of the Cape were anxious to discover the cause of an event so horrible.

A journalist had printed the decrees of the 13th and 15th of May last, with the speech of *M. Monneron*, deputy of the Isle of France. The first depositions stated, that these papers, with all those of the pretended philanthropists, were read and commented upon, by a mulatto upon *Normand's* plantation, in the nocturnal assemblies where the negro-drivers met, who are now the ring-leaders of the rebels. We learnt that the town of the Cape was to be included in the conflagration, and that within that town were lurking those who were to set it on fire and massacre all its inhabitants. Immediately a cry of rage and despair arose on all sides. The philanthropists, France itself, were accused of this dreadful plot: distraction and fury were impressed on every countenance; every heart was in agitation; every thing menaced a horrible butchery, a general confusion. Already the report of musquets was heard! Negroes and mulattoes received their

If we must perish, our last eyes shall be turned towards France—our last wishes shall be for her."

First address, to the National Assembly, by the members of the General Assembly of the French part of St. Domingo.

P. DE CADUSCH, president.

contents

contents at the very door of the General Assembly. Some assumed a white cockade, some loudly called for the protection of the English, some assumed a black cockade. Those words, *The Nation, the Law, and the King*, disappeared from the hall which was preparing for the General Assembly; a hand, bewildered by rage, obliterated them. Exclamations were heard, that the government at home had yielded us to the murderer's sword, to the torch of incendiaries! that, in short, they had delivered us over to every human crime in one day, believed to be the last of the colony! Furious voices blasphemed against a country, to whom they were indebted — not for their protection — but their death!

In the midst of this frenzy, of which no power could repress the first effusion, the General Assembly was yet attentive to measures of security. The moments were precious. A proclamation was issued, forbidding, under pain of death, any one to take away another's life. Four of the members made it public even whilst it was writing. These commissioners carried it from place to place; and met, in every place, mobs, and shouts, and even insults; but they succeeded in saving the mulattoes, who, being accused, would otherwise have been massacred; and their care and their intreaties suspended the fury of the people.

A new alarm was suggested. The General Assembly was accused of participating in the crime of the people of colour, and was threatened. Its courage remained unabated. The mulattoes offered to arm themselves for the common defence, and to leave as hostages their wives and children. The Assembly ventured to arm them, and, uniting them with the soldiers of the regiment of the Cape, thus converted into defenders those who had been nearly sacrificed as enemies.

At this violent crisis, which betokened a subversion of all things; if, giving way to impressions so calculated to inspire terror, we had experienced its effects; if, like those who sur-

rounded and threatened us at that moment, we had regarded our country in no other light than as the cause of our misfortunes; if we had called in a foreign power to snatch the colonists from their butchers, to save their properties, to preserve the very credit of the metropolis: — Where is that man, having a conscience, who would have dared to condemn us? — Yet were we still Frenchmen! — And shall we, after this, be reduced to the abject necessity of justifying ourselves from the reproach of having aimed at independence? Let them examine all our acts: if there be a single one that tends to loosen us from those indissoluble ties which attach us to the empire; our heads are here to suffer the punishment due to such perfidy. We know that some captains of ships, whose vanity has been wounded because their inhumanity was made public, have been ready to join the *Amis des Noirs*, in finding us guilty; but the groans of dejected commerce, feeling for our calamities and for their consequences, shall teach them their error; and that, should they succeed in rendering us odious by their calumnies, they will themselves have, ere long, to lament their success.

True, we have asked, we glory in having asked, (for, it was the duty of men invested with a trust by their fellow-citizens,) assistance from all who surrounded us! That assistance we implored in concert with the Governor-General, and therefore, as Frenchmen and as men, and since, without distinction, we applied at the same time to three different nations, we have sufficiently proved that our solicitations, the dictates of misfortune, could cover no project inimical to the mother-country. Who, indeed, will dare accuse us for having had recourse to the English of Jamaica, since the National Assembly (then informed of our calamities and of our dangers only by imperfect reports) thought fit, of itself, to express the national gratitude to that generous people!*

* Vide appendix (C.)

But

But even, Sirs, had we called in the English, not to lend us assistance but to govern us, to whom ought the guilt to be imputed? Place, for a moment, in our situation, that department of the kingdom which you believe to be the most patriotic, the most proud of the appellation of Frenchmen;—suppose that the fowers of sedition had stirred up, in its bosom servants against masters—banditti against possessors of property;—that a hundred times the peaceable inhabitants had remonstrated against such practices with no return but contempt;—that, so far from receiving succour from the mother-country, all that issued from its bosom seemed to teem with the seeds of revolt;—that already the houses and properties of a multitude of citizens had fallen a prey to the disturbances;—that they had seen the most abominable murders committed under their eyes;—that they were hopeless of protection;—if, at such a time, so destitute and abandoned, these hapless citizens should have indulged an idea of forming new connections and of imploring the assistance of another country:—To whom think you, Sirs, ought the reproach to be made? To wretches, bewildered by despair? or to the miscreants, who took pleasure in wearing out their patience, and in breaking asunder the dearest and most sacred ties by an excess of misery?

We know our duty, Sirs, and we love it; but we know too and boldly claim our rights. We dedicate, to the prosperity of the mother-country, the entire produce of our labours. She owes us protection against foreign force; she owes us the security of our properties and peace against the plots of the turbulent.

It is now proved that the influence of the *Amis des Noirs* is fatal to the colonies.* Let them weave what sophisms they please,

* The society of the *Amis des Noirs* has been very anxious to parry the accusation of having fomented the troubles in St. Domingo: to say nothing of their absurd crimination of the colonists, as disaffected to the new constitution, and as having

please, they cannot hide the evidence of our calamities. There is not an unprejudiced man existing who can doubt, that *their labours, their declamations, their writings, their infamous emissaries*, have been the active, persevering, cause, which, for two years past, has paved the way for our ruin, and which at length has succeeded.

France owes us protection; but her strength will be insufficient to give us confidence, while she suffers the contrivers of our revolts and massacres to lurk in her bosom,

She owes us protection; but in vain would she render it effective, if such attempts are to remain unpunished; that, which ought to disgrace our enemies, affords them matter of triumph and exultation.

She owes us protection; but to what end her fleets and her armies, if she permit that seditious writings should incessantly scatter in our houses the seeds of every trouble! if she permit us to be pressed down to the earth with humiliations! and if to encompass us with murder and with blood become, in the

having plotted a counter-revolution at the expence of every thing, which, *under any form of government*, could be worthy their preservation, it has been industriously spread abroad, that the injustice of the whites to the men of colour has been the sole cause of this insurrection. Doubtless the ill blood occasioned by various contradictory decrees, some exciting, some repressing, the expectations of the men of colour, has had its share in bringing this calamitous business to a crisis. But to whom is it owing that the National Assembly took at any time from the Colonial Assemblies the right of framing their own internal regulations? To the speeches and representations of the most violent of the *Amis des Noirs*. By whom have the pretensions of the men of colour been suddenly elevated to an extravagant height, subversive of all ancient usages, prejudices, and of the harmony of the colony? By the *Amis des Noirs*, and principally by the Abbé Grégoire in his famous circular letters. And, in a word, to what could those levelling doctrines tend, which the writings of the *Amis des Noirs* have industriously disseminated in the colonies, but first to set the whites and the men of colour by the ears, and then to make these last the instruments of an insurrection of the slaves? See appendix (A.) (B.) (D.) and (E.)

eyes of the country to whom we sacrifice ourselves, the road to glory and to fame!

Forgive, Sirs, the warmth of our language. So many calamities have given us a privilege to speak out. Grief, bitter grief, is at our hearts! A hundred times have we foretold the evils of which we are the victims — a hundred times have we imprecated the public vengeance on the hateful manœuvres of those men, who convulse our country under the mask of humanity: — We have obtained no redress! Oh may the dreadful catastrophe, of which we have sketched to you the picture, serve as a lesson for futurity, and preserve, from like calamities, all those of our fellow-citizens to whose lot they have not yet fallen!

It is to your steadiness, in punishing the authors of our disasters, and in checking their new efforts, that the Western and Southern provinces have to look for their security.

As for the Northern province, its losses are irreparable. Immense capitals are sunk; the restoration of its industry requires such an advance of funds as the merchants and proprietors cannot wholly accomplish. We speak not to you of individuals, but you will examine, Sirs, what, on your part, is required by the interest of the colony and that of the nation.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE, you have heard a recital of the greatest calamity that has visited the human race in the course of the eighteenth century.

You have heard the complaint of the first colony in the world; of a colony necessary to the existence of that nation whose concerns are placed in your hands.* That colony wishes to interest you only by its feelings and its sufferings!

* See appendix (D.) and (E.)

It demands, from you, JUSTICE, SAFETY, SUCCOUR!

Signed, J. B. MILLET.

COUGNACQ MION.

SAINTE-JAMES.

CHENEAU DE LA MEGRIERE.

LA-GOURGUE.

LE BUCQUET.

REPLY of the PRESIDENT.

TO love our country is a source of heart-felt satisfaction!
To serve it in time of distress is the first of civic virtues, and
it is yours! The calamities of the colony are dreadful!
The National Assembly views them with horror, with indig-
nation, with grief! You ask its JUSTICE; that is due from
it to all the citizens of the empire. Its PROTECTION; that
is due to your courage, your patriotism, your misfortunes!
Its SUCCOUR; that it is already occupied in providing. It
will give your application its most serious attention, and in-
vites you to the honours of the session.

REPLY OF THE DEPUTIES OF ST. DOMINGO
TO THE CHARGES OF M. BRISSOT.

*Addressed, on the 5th of December, to the President of the
National Assembly.**

MR. PRESIDENT,

AT the bar of the National Assembly we have pointed out
the society of the *Amis des Noirs* as the instigators of the

* This letter was, on the morning of the 5th of December, delivered by two of
the deputies to the president; the secretary, who had his orders to lay it before
the assembly, thought proper to defer its reading to the next day.

troubles

troubles in St. Domingo. No candid and well-informed man can doubt the fact. Yet M. Brissot, one of the members of that society which has been incessantly busied in the ruin of the colonies, dares accuse us of having ourselves excited the insurrection of our slaves; that we might call in a foreign power to our aid and protection; and, as if the treason existed and was proved, he two days ago moved that the General Assembly of St. Domingo should be summoned before the Supreme National Court. Incumbered by the weight of those evils which he has brought upon his country, he seeks to divert the public attention from himself; he would interest the representatives of the Nation in his personal defence; he hopes to mislead the justice of the National Assembly, that he may shelter himself from its decrees. *We challenge him, Mr. President, to exhibit his proofs. We intreat the National Assembly to require them. And, as for us, intrusted by a great colony with the duty of prosecuting its vengeance, we will bring forward, upon the question, such an accumulation of evidence as shall leave neither to the public opinion nor to the sentence of the law any room to hesitate in distinguishing the guilty.*

We are, respectfully,

Mr. PRESIDENT,

Your, &c.

Signed, J. B. MILLET,

COUGNACQ MION.

SAINTE-JAMES.

CHENAU DE LA MEGRIERE.

LA-GOURGUE.

LE BUCQUET.

APPENDIX.

(A)
Extracts from the Address of the St. Domingo Planters, assembled at Paris, to the King, Dec. 11, 1791.

ON the first report of our calamities, France has seen those men, whose philosophy is a dagger and whose virtue is a flaming torch, setting their writers and their clubs to work to counteract that impression of pity which our situation was calculated to inspire; and, at the very moment of the accomplishment of their prophetic vow, "Perish the Colonies rather than our Principles!" M. Condorcet published, in his Journal, "*that the accounts were fabricated, and had no other object than to create, to the king of the French, an empire beyond the seas, in which there should be masters and in which there should be slaves.*"

When the news was confirmed, when the manufacturers, the seamen, ship-owners, and the whole commercial body of the kingdom, discovered their alarm, the anti-social sect (through its organ, Mr. Brissot) exclaimed, that the blood of our brethren, and the ashes of our habitations, covered a crime of high treason; and this friend of humanity proposed to summon, before the High National Court, whatever remnant of the planters should be left unmurdered by the negroes.

These horrid proposals were agitated, discussed, in the National Assembly. Perhaps it was the first time that a civilized people have suffered, in a legal form, the impious assault of guilt against misfortune.

The

The contempt, consequent on such charges, obliged them to shift their ground. — The colonial regulations are inimical to their levelling system. — Sworn enemies are they to all great property: for, they spurn, they persecute, they would annihilate, all wealth and all authority in which they cannot participate. Their hypocrisy would preserve sacred the rights only of that multitude of which they are the despots. Therefore the people of colour, in the colonies, were, for them, fit instruments, into whose hands they must put arms, and they have succeeded!

Such, Sire, is the origin of our calamities. It is rendered obvious by successive facts, from the first insurrection of the mulatto Oge, to the devastation of the plain of the Cape plotted by the accomplices of Oge.

(B.)

Extract from an Address of the same Planters to the National Assembly.

IT is absurd to believe, that those, who have tried every means to abolish slavery and the slave-trade, have a single measure to propose, friendly in its nature, to those very colonies which cannot subsist without slavery and the slave-trade.

It is absurd to believe, that those, who declare themselves enemies of the white planters because they have negro-slaves, should have taken up the cause of the people of colour, who also have negro-slaves, for any other purpose than that of setting the whites and the people of colour together by the ears, of making them cut one another's throats, in order to secure the freedom of the negroes, who would remain sole masters of the territory. — These are the beneficent projects of these friends of humanity!

(E.)

Extract from the Journal of the Colonial Assembly of the French Part of Hispaniola, Sept. 26, 1791.

THE committee, appointed to repair on-board the English frigate, reported, " That Commodore Affleck, and Bryan Edwards, Esq. member of the Jamaica Assembly, attended " to be presented;" who were accordingly admitted, in company with the Governor-General; whereupon the President addressed them as follows:

" We were not mistaken, Gentlemen, when we placed " our confidence in your generosity; but we could hardly " entertain the hopes, that, besides sending us succours, you " would come in person to give us consolation. — You have " quitted, without reluctance, the peaceful enjoyment of happiness at home, to come and participate in our misfortunes " and blend your tears with ours. Scenes of misery (the " contemplation of which, to those who are unaccustomed to " misfortune, is commonly disgusting) have not suppressed " your feelings. You have been willing to ascertain the full " extent of our distresses, and to pour into our wounds the " salutary balm of your sensibility and compassion.

" The picture which I have drawn of our calamities is still " far short of the truth.

" That verdure, with which our fields were lately arrayed, " is no longer visible; discoloured by the flames, and laid " waste by the devastations of war, our coasts exhibit no " prospect but that of horror. The emblems which we wear " on our persons* are the tokens of our grief for the loss of " our brethren, who were surprised, and basely assassinated, by " the revolvers.

* The Assembly appeared in white dresses, with black silk sashes. There were upwards of two hundred members present.

" It is by the light of these conflagrations, that every way
 " surround us, that we now deliberate; we are compelled to
 " sit armed and watchful, through the night, to keep the
 " enemy from our sanctuary. For a long time past our bo-
 " soms have been depressed by sorrow; they experience this
 " day, for the first time, the sweet emotions of pleasure, in
 " beholding you among us.
 " Generous islanders! humanity has operated powerfully
 " on your hearts; you have yielded to the first emotion of
 " your generosity, in the hopes of snatching us from death;
 " for, it is already too late to save us from misery. What a
 " contrast between your conduct and that of other nations!
 " We will avail ourselves of your benevolence: but the days
 " you preserve to us will not be sufficient to manifest our gra-
 " titude: — Our children shall keep it in remembrance.
 " Regenerated France, unapprised that such calamities
 " might befall us, has taken no measures to protect us against
 " their effects: with what admiration will she learn, that,
 " without your assistance, we should no longer exist as a de-
 " pendency to any nation.
 " The Commissioner, deputed by us to the island of Ja-
 " maica, has informed us of your exertions to serve us. —
 " Receive the assurance of our attachment and sensibility.
 " The Governor-general of this island, whose sentiments
 " perfectly accord with our own, and who is strongly at-
 " tached to the interests of this country, participates equally
 " in the joy we feel at your presence and in our gratitude for
 " the assistance you have brought us.

(D.)

Extract from the Address of the Merchants and Traders of Amiens to the National Assembly, Dec. 10, 1791.

THE freedom of the negroes in the West-Indies, so eagerly desired by the society of the *Amis des Noirs*, has submitted, to public enquiry, a question of too much importance, at this time, to be regarded with indifference. This question, so closely connected with the commercial interests of Europe, has divided opinions and formed parties. In the eye of reason, both experience and policy unite in dictating, that we should abide by the customary regulations; meliorating, if it be yet possible, the lot of the negroes.

The pretended philanthropists, not having succeeded in establishing anarchy by means of an unqualified enfranchisement of the negroes, have directed their attention to the men of colour, whom time would naturally have conducted to all the rights of other citizens.

We draw the veil over scenes of horror, the bare recital of which has made you shudder. We leave to journalists, for the most part coldly selfish or irrationally enthusiastic, to reason over them in *their* manner. Let *them* tell us that France, to be prosperous, needs no colonies; that the loss of sugar and coffee is an evil only to wealthy persons who consume them. These are not arguments that will persuade the patriotic citizen, still less the enlightened merchant. Let facts convince us, that France owes her splendour only to her colonies; and that, in the present state of the European nations, France, without her colonies, cannot be supported.

It is needless, Sirs, to fix your attention upon the nature of the French commerce, but, perhaps, it may be necessary to examine what is the basis of its commercial industry; an object so important, that it is the principle of our immense population.

The

The greater part of our manufactories are nourished by raw materials imported, and which we must purchase from foreigners; and what have we, of the produce of our soil or of the fruits of our industry, to give them in return? Before the establishment of our manufactories, which have so prodigiously augmented the number of consumers, it was politic to export corn, but we now find, by experience, great objections to an export of that article. There remain, then, our wines, brandies, some fruits, a little dried fish, some cattle, and salt; we have also to offer them linens, silks, woollens, cottons, and millinery and haberdashery wares.

Although these different manufactories occasion a considerable export to foreign nations, their amount does not form a compensation for the raw materials, drugs, and dye stuffs, which we are compelled to take from them. Other riches become necessary in order to pay for the surplus and to give a balance advantageous to France. Those riches our colonies supply.

France received annually from her American colonies about 300,000,000 value in their produce, of which about one half was exported. It is by this value that we pay for those materials, which are the support of our manufactures, and for other articles, whether of luxury or of necessity; and, by this value, there accrued to France a balance of trade amounting to between 40 and 50,000,000 of livres.

What becomes of this balance, what becomes of the kingdom, if we lose these invaluable possessions? Should that loss happen from our fault, we have to answer to our brethren, resident in the colonies, who look to the mother-country for protection; we have to answer to the numerous seamen and artificers of all kinds who reside in our sea-ports; we have to answer to all those manufactories of the internal provinces, whose hands are employed by the colonies, or by those connected with them. — How dreadful the prospect!

Similar

Similar addresses were presented from Bourdeaux, Nantes, Havre, &c.

(E.)

Extract of the Speech of M. ROUSTAN, in the National Assembly, Dec. 10, 1791. (He was deputed, by the Colony of St. Domingo, to ask Succours of the American States.)

BUT, Sirs, by what fatality are all our measures to be considered as suspicious? By what fatality are we reduced to our justification? We, that are the victims, whilst the charges of our enemies, I might say of our executioners, are looked upon as indisputable truths! By what right does M. Brissot,* and those other members of the National Assembly, who are ignorant of the internal regulation which is suitable to our own colonies, because that regulation depends on localities that can be known only to the inhabitants, permit themselves to load us with abuse? Whence comes it that, when we require them to bring proof of what they assert, the National Assembly, which has promised us justice, should not compel them to their own vindication; whilst we, on our parts, offer proof of all we have affirmed?

To what an excess of despair shall we not reduce our hapless constituents, when we relate to them, as we must, all that has passed during the discussion of their dreadful situation! What confidence will they derive from a Journalist, member of the National Assembly, who publishes, (I quote his own expression,) that those celebrated words, "*Perish the Colonies rather than we should sacrifice a Principle—have been pronounced in vain from the tribunal of the Constituent Assembly.*" Pronounced in vain! then it is the wish, the prayer, of M. Condorcet, that these words had not been a fruitless ineffectual declamation. Pronounced in vain! Then he would have had pleasure in seeing a massacre of 50,000 Frenchmen,

* M. Roustan no sooner mentioned the name of M. Brissot than there was a great clamour in the Assembly.—Several members exclaimed, "To prison with him!"

O[®]
arch
ations

20,000 mulattoes, and 500,000 negroes, in the colony of St. Domingo only, rather than have sacrificed what he calls a *principle*. I should conceive myself to be wounding the delicacy of the National Assembly, should I attempt to prove all the horrors these dreadful words convey!

(F.)

Extracts from the Speech of Mr. BERTRAND, Marine Minister of France, in the National Assembly, Dec. 19, 1791.

I HAVE explained to you, Sirs, the measures taken by the king, for affording relief to the inhabitants of St. Domingo, so soon as their calamity and danger were made known to his majesty: inadequate, doubtless, of themselves, their success depends wholly on their promptitude, and on the assurance that they shall be followed by others more effective. But, previous to these being determined upon, it was fitting we should know the true causes of the troubles which have led to this terrible catastrophe. I have neglected no means of discovering them, because by such discovery alone can we be directed in the application of those measures which are to prevent its return.

Some accuse the Colonists of wishing to surrender themselves to the English, &c. &c.*

Others, on the contrary, see no other cause of their misfortunes but in the incendiary writings, disseminated in the Colonies with a view to stir the negroes to revolt; in the correspondence maintained, for some time past, between the people of colour and a society called Philanthropists; founded, say they, upon a system, destructive of all colonial property, and whose origin and principles are thus stated.

* These accusations have been omitted by the translator, as being now generally discredited. See Mr. Bertrand's own opinion of them in the subsequent part of his speech.

It is easy to conceive, that a free people, always worthy of being so, must have felt an alloy to its enjoyment of colonial establishments from the circumstance of their being founded on slavery.

This sentiment of a generous and humane nation (certainly estimable, however just or well founded) was sure to gain ground, and a milder treatment of our negroes was its natural result.

But the philosophic spirit, so prevalent in France, aimed at farther conquests, and has been employed in strengthening, with all the force of argument, the theory of a sentiment, which, perhaps, might have been more prudently left to its own operations.

According to its doctrines, the Colonies, those possessions for which humanity has been wounded and justice set aside, have not that value which cupidity has affixed to them, but are ruinous to the deluded mother-country. The possibility of replacing them by settlements more contiguous, and under a climate more similar to our own; (that of Africa or the Mediterranean Islands for instance;) the necessity there must one day arise of resigning possessions so distant, inhabited by men whose ingratitude and treachery there is reason to foresee; &c. &c. all these motives united lead us to regard a voluntary abandonment as no more than an anticipation of events inevitable, with the advantage of a previous preparation and a provision of more durable resources. Our wiser neighbours have made similar calculations respecting *their* North-American colonies, proving, by the sums expended in their defence, how burthensome they have been.

Although such calculations (natural enough by way of consolation for having lost them) related only to the *capti-*
mental colonies, resembling but in name the colonies of the *American Archipelago*, yet this difference did not strike every mind. Commercial policy appeared to second the dictates of humanity, and the number of the Philanthro-
pist

pists was swelled by all those, whose sensibility, in order to be excited, needed other stimulatives than those of philanthropy itself.

“ This is the system, (say the planters,) which has erroneously and cruelly occasioned those bloody scenes of which we are the victims. Follow, step by step, the proceedings and effects of this proselyte-making zeal, which began by preaching an abolition of slavery and unqualified liberty to our negroes; which then moderating its pretensions, the better to graduate its progress, asked only a suppression of the trade; and which at last, with a more plausible and secure aim, has seemed to confine its attention to the elevation of the people of colour, the more effectually to work our destruction. *Will it not be deemed impossible, that a system, assuming humanity as its basis, should be capable of producing effects so cruel?* Has not the history of those very climates furnished us with a fact, a reference to which cannot but do honour to the most scrupulous philanthropist? It is to the humane and pious Las Cajas that America owes her negroes: touched with the evils which his fellow-citizens inflicted upon the native Caribbs, he sought in Africa for men already doomed to slavery, who, without aggravation of misery and by a simple exchange of fetters, under a climate similar to their own, might supply the place of the Americans, alike unfit for labour and for chains. If this pious missionary was deceived by his humanity, if, to save from labour and slavery a remnant of the Caribbs, he has been the means of dooming to that lot millions of Africans, let the modern philosophers, who cannot pretend purer motives, see that *they also* fail not of their object. In their attempt, to put an end to the slavery of the negroes, they may reduce to misery five or six millions of their white fellow-citizens, friends and brethren, and may

“ overturn the strongest pillars of the national prosperity ;
 “ nor will they do effectual good to those whom they wish
 “ to serve. Without a concurrence of all the interested
 “ powers, the Colonies have only to choose their protector,
 “ the slaves their master. These last may, indeed, as they
 “ have lately too dreadfully proved, attempt to cut the
 “ throats of ourselves, our wives, and children, and of all
 “ who are set over them ; but it will be only that they may
 “ exchange one servitude for another.” —

Such, Sirs, are the arguments advanced, in their turns,
 by the planters and their antagonists. In my administrative
 capacity, solely, have I endeavoured to discriminate the cau-
 ses, whatever they may be, which have led the way to the
 troubles in St. Domingo, that I might the more effectually
 apply the means of prevention.

As to the accusations, against the Colonists, of designs to
 submit themselves to the English ; to render themselves in-
 dependent ; to effect a counter-revolution : — I know no-
 thing ; I have found nothing, in evidence, of projects, so cul-
 pable, extravagant, or absurd !

*As to the accusation brought against the partisans of the liberty
 of the blacks, — I cannot conceal that it appears much better
 founded.* But, whatever be the cause, where are we to look
 for the remedy of these disasters ? How are we to prevent
 their repetition ?

The first and most useful step is, doubtless, to become
 acquainted with our true interests, and real commercial re-
 lation with the colonies ; *since an ignorance of these principles
 has been the primary source of our errors and of their cala-
 mities.*

We should consider our Colonies as so many manufac-
 tories, established at 1800 leagues distance from the mother-
 country, and the mother-country herself as the moneyed
 firm, which has furnished the expence of these establish-

ments

ments of agriculture and industry, whether for their first foundation, maintenance, or protection. Every member of the mother-country is a stock-holder in this important speculation; to share the benefits of which, it is enough to have been born in France; and all French citizens, I repeat it, *all*, are interested in its success, though in different degrees: some as farmers or proprietors of lands, which, in whole or in part, are cultivated to supply the wants of these distant consumers, and who would be ruined without so important a demand for their produce; some as embarked in various departments of industry, wholly or partially occupied in supplying the Colonies, and whose productions without them would remain on hand; some, again, as commercial people, navigators, coasting traders, &c. forming a third class, busied in carrying on with the Colonies the connection of the other two. Whatever be our rank in this firm, whatever be the sum and nature of our shares, from the laborious husbandman to the lazy money-lender, from the industrious manufacturer to the useless stock-jobber, from the adventurous speculator to the cautious annuitant, — *all*, yes, *all*, are interested in the fate of these valuable establishments, by whose aid even Calumny herself sells her poison to a profit.

Regulated and governed in whatever manner, these establishments still keep their primitive character of an enterprise, in which the mother-country has embarked, and of which she alone ought to reap the profit or the loss.

As to calculations of the sums these establishments have cost, supposing them not exaggerated, *how are we to appreciate, in gold or in figures, the advantages which result to Europe from her Colonies?* Is it possible we should be blind to the obvious increase of our population? the only true criterion of national prosperity, an infallible sign at once of the plenty of food and of the need of hands; for, men multiply where subsistence abounds and where labour invites.

Can

Can we fail to see, that an obligation to sell their produce only to the members of the mother-country, and to buy of them alone every article they want, forms a double source of riches, of which the measure is immense? In short, the Colonies take from us all they want at such prices as we please to impose; they return us a sufficiency of their valuable produce, not only to serve the consumption of twenty-five millions of inhabitants, but to form a very great surplus, which we sell with profit to the nations who have no Colonies of their own. And shall all these advantages be estimated by a series of figures, which, expressing only the relations of quantity, are applicable to none but to material and inanimate objects?

Observe, Sirs, that the effect of such erroneous calculations, respecting our Colonies, must necessarily impose a retrograde course upon the public fortune. It is not to moderate the speed, but to stop at once the motion, of this powerful wheel, that we are invited. In an instant, we are to condemn to inactivity those millions of arms, which are now employed to move it; in an instant, we are to cut all the threads, which conduct us to such an immensity of wealth. Estimate, I beseech you, Sirs, the dreadful effects of such a sudden separation!

(G.)

With the following Postscript to Mr. de Blanchelande's Letter, of the 30th of November, to the Minister of Marine, (which is among the latest authentic advices from St. Domingo,) the Translator closes this imperfect sketch of the miseries of the richest and most important Colony in the world.

" THIS instant I have received a Letter from the Municipality of Port au Prince, of which I subjoin a copy.* The truth of its contents has been confirmed to me by Mr. Saule de Saulnoir. Some curse from above has, I fear, been pronounced against this wretched Colony dooming it to entire destruction ! Calamities of every description are surely to fall to its lot ! A ray of hope, on the arrival of the Commissioners sent by the National Assembly, seemed destined to soften my anxieties and my pain : that momentary satisfaction is now cruelly disturbed ; and the more so as our situation in the northern province and the exhausted state of our resources form obstacles to my wishes of flying to the succour of the ravaged departments. But that would require superior forces, and scarcely have we sufficient to maintain a humiliating defence. If our brethren in Europe come not speedily to our succour, what will become of us !"

* This letter gives an account of the burning of that rich and flourishing town on the 22d of November. The most moderate estimation makes the loss, sustained on that occasion, 150,000,000 of livres.

T H E E N D.

1914-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-36-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100-101-102-103-104-105-106-107-108-109-110-111-112-113-114-115-116-117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130-131-132-133-134-135-136-137-138-139-140-141-142-143-144-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157-158-159-160-161-162-163-164-165-166-167-168-169-170-171-172-173-174-175-176-177-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218-219-220-221-222-223-224-225-226-227-228-229-230-231-232-233-234-235-236-237-238-239-240-241-242-243-244-245-246-247-248-249-250-251-252-253-254-255-256-257-258-259-260-261-262-263-264-265-266-267-268-269-270-271-272-273-274-275-276-277-278-279-280-281-282-283-284-285-286-287-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296-297-298-299-300-301-302-303-304-305-306-307-308-309-310-311-312-313-314-315-316-317-318-319-320-321-322-323-324-325-326-327-328-329-330-331-332-333-334-335-336-337-338-339-340-341-342-343-344-345-346-347-348-349-350-351-352-353-354-355-356-357-358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367-368-369-370-371-372-373-374-375-376-377-378-379-380-381-382-383-384-385-386-387-388-389-390-391-392-393-394-395-396-397-398-399-400-401-402-403-404-405-406-407-408-409-410-411-412-413-414-415-416-417-418-419-420-421-422-423-424-425-426-427-428-429-430-431-432-433-434-435-436-437-438-439-440-441-442-443-444-445-446-447-448-449-450-451-452-453-454-455-456-457-458-459-460-461-462-463-464-465-466-467-468-469-470-471-472-473-474-475-476-477-478-479-480-481-482-483-484-485-486-487-488-489-490-491-492-493-494-495-496-497-498-499-500-501-502-503-504-505-506-507-508-509-510-511-512-513-514-515-516-517-518-519-520-521-522-523-524-525-526-527-528-529-530-531-532-533-534-535-536-537-538-539-540-541-542-543-544-545-546-547-548-549-550-551-552-553-554-555-556-557-558-559-560-561-562-563-564-565-566-567-568-569-570-571-572-573-574-575-576-577-578-579-580-581-582-583-584-585-586-587-588-589-590-591-592-593-594-595-596-597-598-599-600-601-602-603-604-605-606-607-608-609-610-611-612-613-614-615-616-617-618-619-620-621-622-623-624-625-626-627-628-629-630-631-632-633-634-635-636-637-638-639-640-641-642-643-644-645-646-647-648-649-650-651-652-653-654-655-656-657-658-659-660-661-662-663-664-665-666-667-668-669-670-671-672-673-674-675-676-677-678-679-680-681-682-683-684-685-686-687-688-689-690-691-692-693-694-695-696-697-698-699-700-701-702-703-704-705-706-707-708-709-710-711-712-713-714-715-716-717-718-719-720-721-722-723-724-725-726-727-728-729-730-731-732-733-734-735-736-737-738-739-740-741-742-743-744-745-746-747-748-749-750-751-752-753-754-755-756-757-758-759-760-761-762-763-764-765-766-767-768-769-770-771-772-773-774-775-776-777-778-779-780-781-782-783-784-785-786-787-788-789-790-791-792-793-794-795-796-797-798-799-800-801-802-803-804-805-806-807-808-809-810-811-812-813-814-815-816-817-818-819-820-821-822-823-824-825-826-827-828-829-830-831-832-833-834-835-836-837-838-839-840-841-842-843-844-845-846-847-848-849-850-851-852-853-854-855-856-857-858-859-860-861-862-863-864-865-866-867-868-869-870-871-872-873-874-875-876-877-878-879-880-881-882-883-884-885-886-887-888-889-890-891-892-893-894-895-896-897-898-899-900-901-902-903-904-905-906-907-908-909-910-911-912-913-914-915-916-917-918-919-920-921-922-923-924-925-926-927-928-929-930-931-932-933-934-935-936-937-938-939-940-941-942-943-944-945-946-947-948-949-950-951-952-953-954-955-956-957-958-959-960-961-962-963-964-965-966-967-968-969-970-971-972-973-974-975-976-977-978-979-980-981-982-983-984-985-986-987-988-989-990-991-992-993-994-995-996-997-998-999-1000-1001-1002-1003-1004-1005-1006-1007-1008-1009-1010-1011-1012-1013-1014-1015-1016-1017-1018-1019-1020-1021-1022-1023-1024-1025-1026-1027-1028-1029-1030-1031-1032-1033-1034-1035-1036-1037-1038-1039-1040-1041-1042-1043-1044-1045-1046

[illegible]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SECRET

